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corresponding change, it has been an elevation. Perhaps it is for this reason that the great chain of America is highest in the equatorial regions, and diminishes in altitude towards either pole."

We cannot avoid recognizing the intimate connection between the causes which have originated the fiords, and those to which the accumulations of the northern drift, and the attendant scratching and polishing of the rocks, are to be ascribed. The fiords are confined to those regions where the drift phenomena are most conspicuously displayed; and it seems not unreasonable to suppose that they belong to the same geological epoch, and are the result of the same great causes.

We have thus passed rapidly over Mr. Dana's book, endeavoring to lay before the reader a sketch of some of the most important topics which are discussed in it. We regard the work as eminently suggestive in its character, and abounding in theoretical views of great originality and importance. The peculiar opportunities afforded by such a voyage as that of the Exploring Expedition are such as few geologists can expect to enjoy; and we rejoice that they have been given to one so eminently fitted to derive the greatest amount of instruction from them. The results here presented are commensurate in magnitude and importance with the field in which they were obtained.

ART. IV. — *Lives of the Queens of Scotland, and English Princesses connected with the Regal Succession of Great Britain.* By AGNES STRICKLAND. Vols. I. & II. New York: Harpers. 1851. 12mo.

MISS STRICKLAND has done English literature good service by the publication of her *Lives of the Queens*. She has, with great industry and love, restored many old portraits from the dust and coloring of age which had long rested on them. She is no very great artist herself; but she cleans the picture, and brings out forms and features with a good deal of truth and dis-

tinctness. Her historical figures move before us in the costume appropriate to their age ; they speak their own quaint phraseology ; and from these peculiarities we receive a clearer and more impressive idea of the persons and things of past times, than we ever got from the graver annals in which the style is all the same, and the story of Egypt, Greece, and Rome is told like a story of France, Germany, or England. In reading the authentic documents which she places before us, we can understand the charm which Sir Walter Scott found in the careful study of such things, and the peculiar coloring which they imparted to his style. Thierry and Macaulay have successfully imitated his example, and thereby rendered history as attractive as romance.

The first of these biographies is that of Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII. and Elizabeth Plantagenet of York, — a couple who united the two Roses of England, and made them grow upon one stalk. The children of this happy marriage certainly manifested as much hot blood as if they had inherited all the angry passions which were quieted by the union of their parents.

At her birth, in 1489, Margaret was destined for the King of Scotland by her father, — a shrewd speculator, who meant to bring about by a marriage what the Plantagenet Edwards could not effect by the sword, — the lapse of the Scottish crown into the English succession. During her infancy, overtures for the match were made by James, who was already of mature age, and who flattered the wishes of Henry, while his own gallantries were not interrupted by the courtship. Margaret was educated with her elder brother, Arthur, and the younger Henry ; but she learned little, and grew up illiterate and self-willed. At the age of thirteen, she was married by proxy to the Scottish King. When it was represented to Henry VII. that England might become a province of Scotland in consequence of this marriage, he said ; “ No, the smaller ever follows the larger kingdom.” This is repeated by Lord Bacon and others as a proof of wonderful shrewdness ; but it seems an obvious reflection enough, which probably occurred to half the nobility of England, and reconciled them to the match. The *fiancels* took place in 1503, at Richmond. Lady Katharine Gordon, widow of Perkin Warbeck, was present in the train of the Queen, (Elizabeth,) at

the ceremonial ; Patrick Hepburn, Earl Bothwell, was the proxy of James. After the mutual troth had been plighted, the Queen led her daughter to a banquet in her private apartment, where the young creature dined as a queen — the Queen of Scotland with the Queen of England. It was remarked, that, while Margaret received the felicitations of all the court on the occasion, her brother Henry, having been encouraged in a dislike of the marriage by his tutor, Skelton the poet, flew into a rage that astonished the whole court, when they bade him go and salute the Queen of Scotland. The child showed himself father of the man. After dinner, the gentlemen cased themselves in steel, and mounted their horses to joust in honor of the event. Charles Brandon, Edward, Duke of Buckingham, and Lord William of Devonshire distinguished themselves by “the spears they broke, and the right goodly gambades they made.” The next morning, when the King and Queen “had soped,” (which does not mean any thing connected with their toilet ablutions, but the “supping” of the broth or porridge that constituted part of the royal breakfast,) the Queen of Scots came to the great chamber to thank those who joust-ed for her ; and she bid the heralds say that Rayne de Shezells (some foreign name spelled at a venture) and Charles Brandon had right well joust-ed ; John Carr, better ; and Lord William of Devon, best of all. Pageants and more jousting followed. The Earl of Bothwell sent to the English officer of arms the gown of cloth of gold he wore at the betrothal ; and after a great supper, the King sent his cupboard of plate to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, while a general interchange of presents took place on all sides.

James IV. was eighteen years older than Margaret. He was first united by a secret marriage, for which he got no dispensation, and which was opposed by the majority of his peers and counsellors, to the Lady Margaret Drummond. But she and her two sisters were poisoned simultaneously at Drummond castle, while at breakfast, by those who dreaded the Drummond influence in the kingdom. In September, 1503, the young Margaret left Richmond to proceed to the north ; and along with her, branched off that line which is now continued by her Majesty, Queen Victoria. Margaret was escorted by her father to Collewston, the residence of the Duchess of Richmond, his mother. There he took

leave of his daughter, and, on parting, gave her an illuminated missal or manual, having written with his own hand on one of the pages as follows:—“*Remember your kynde and loving fader in your good prayers. Henry R.*” On another page he wrote:—“*Pray for your loving fader that gave you thys booke, and I gyve you at all tymes godds blessyng and myne. Henry R.*”

The Queen set out, on a white pony, and attended by twenty-four young English ladies, on palfreys, in fair order and array. Three footmen always walked close to Margaret's palfrey, very “honestly appointed,” with portcullises embroidered on their jackets. A litter was provided, in which the Queen was borne from time to time. There was also a car, finely adorned, in which were four matronly ladies of her bed-chamber. Minstrels rode near the Queen, and on entering and leaving towns, they always played lively airs. A large *cortége* of barons and bishops, with their servants, escorted her on her way. The bells were rung in every town through which she passed, and the noblemen and gentry of every shire she traversed accompanied her to the boundaries of the next. The inhabitants along the roads brought vessels full of ale, cider, and milk, and refused any payment, saying that if they had better, they would offer it. Going through the dioceses, the bishops never failed to come and present her with *the cross to kiss*. This last seems to have been an indispensable ceremony, and it is recorded with an apparently scrupulous exactness by the English herald, who has left an account of the journey. Margaret was lodged at nights in gentlemen's houses, convents, or inns,—which last seem to have borne a more dignified character than those of the same designation in modern times. When she was about to enter the northern metropolis, York, seeing she was to have a grand reception, she changed her dress; that is, she went into the litter, *by the side of the road*, where—when the twenty-four ladies had warned all the gentlemen to a great distance—they “refreshed” her habiliments, removing all dust and travel-stains; and then performed the same duties for themselves. There the stout Earl of Northumberland—the toparch of “the North countrie”—came to greet the Queen of Scots. He and his horse showed very magnificently. The animal's harness and his own were hung all over

with bells, like one of our sleighing equipages; "making a melodious noise when he moved; and he did not spare gambades," — prancing and caracoling of his horse. The Earl took Margaret to his castle of Alnwick, where, in the park, she stood and shot a buck with an arrow, and was afterwards feasted with baronial hospitality. At Berwick, she was treated to "a course of chase" within the inclosure of the walls, and further amused with a great fight of dogs and bears, and the firing off of artillery! At Berwick north gate, the English lords took leave of her "with many leaps and gambades," and feats of horsemanship, and a thousand Scottish horse formed thereafter her guard of honor.

At Dalkeith, she was met by King James. He was now thirty-one years old, and was considered the handsomest sovereign in Europe. He "uncovered his head, and made deep obeisance to her, while she made a lowly reverence." He then kissed her, and, — such, of course, being the fashion of the time, — kissed "all her ladies" also. After this he took the Queen aside, in the great open dining hall, and talked with her. She was not at all embarrassed; and "the King remained bareheaded all the time." "Incontinent the board was set and served. The King and Queen washed their hands with humble reverence, and after that, sat them down at table together." When the meal was over, the Queen showed her skill in playing on the lute and clavichord; "but ever while she played on these instruments, King James knelt beside her, with his head uncovered." From these particular allusions to the uncovered head, we may suppose that, in their palaces and halls, princes and barons wore their hats and caps much more constantly than people are in the habit of doing, within doors, nowadays. At that time, indeed, the *head-dress* of gentlemen was elegant and ornamental; now, it is simply an ugly absurdity. At supper, the King sat in his chair of state, at the head of the table; but the stool on which the Queen sat not being easy, the King gallantly placed her in his own chair. This is recorded with approbation of his remarkable politeness.

When Queen Margaret was approaching Edinburgh, the king sent her a "great tame hart," that they might set the dogs after it, and let her Grace see a hunt. But the Earl of Surrey declined the offer, postponing the chase till the King

and Queen should be able to enjoy so pleasant a thing in company. James now approached, with all the splendor and bravery of Holyrood court.

"Half-way to Edinburgh, James IV. was seen advancing with his company. He was this time attired in grand costume. 'His steed was trapped with gold, and round its neck was a deep gold fringe; the saddle and harness were of gold, but the bridle and head-gear of burnished silver. The King wore a jacket of cloth of gold, lined and bordered with violet velvet and fine black *bouge* or *budge* fur; his waistcoat was of violet satin, his *hose* of scarlet, his shirt confined with bands of pearls and rich stones; his spurs were long and gilt. He rode toward the Queen in full course, at the pace at which the hare is hunted. On seeing her, he made very humble obeisance, and, leaping down from his horse, he came and kissed her in her litter. Then, mounting in his usual gallant fashion, without touching stirrup, a gentleman-usher unsheathed the sword of state, and bore it before his King in regal fashion. The Scottish sword was inclosed in a scabbard of purple velvet, whereon was written, in letters of pearl, *God my defende*. The like words are on the pommel, the cross, and the *chap* also. The Earl of Bothwell bore this sword when the royal party reached Edinburgh town.'

"The King placed himself by the Queen's litter, and passed all the time conversing with her and entertaining her, as he rode by her side."—Vol. i. p. 45.

On the way, the King tried the temper of a horse, by taking up a gentleman behind himself, to know whether the animal would tolerate the little bride *en croupe*. But the experiment was unfavorable, and James, dismounting, got on the Queen's quiet palfrey instead, and Margaret, being seated behind him, they jogged on to the city in a magnificent manner. As Leigh Hunt says, —

"Riding double was no crime
In the gay James Stuart's time,
Nor did the lady blush vermillion,
Riding on the lover's pillion."

As they were getting along, there was a *divertissement* of two knights fighting a duel, who struck so fiercely that the King trotted forward to stop them; and the King and Queen called out together, "peace!" and had them parted. How strange all this seems to us, who are familiar with accounts or sights of the royal pageantries of our own day! We fancy there was more real enjoyment in the court ceremonies of the olden

time than is possible under the severity of the modern code in regard to decorum and etiquette. Our keen sense of the ridiculous has abridged our pastimes ; we dare not enjoy ourselves for fear of being laughed at. Punch is as rigid a *ensor morum* as John Knox.

We refer our readers to Miss Strickland's ample and curious details of the ceremony of the marriage at Holyrood. After it was over, the lords of the household "brought bread and wine in rich pots," and when the collation was finished, the King and Queen retired. At dinner, the King *insisted* that the Queen should be served first. At the first course, she was served with "a wild boar's head"; then, with "a fair piece of brawn;" and, in the third place, with "a jambon," (ham,) which was followed by divers other dishes. James was determined that the little lady should be taken good care of, and have no reason to complain of any lack of viands ;— though, for a girl of fourteen, they certainly seem to have been rather solid.

When, at the end of a week, some of the English train left the court to proceed to England, the young Queen sent a letter to her father, in which, using one of her ladies as amanuensis, she shows that, even thus early, she was discontented with her husband. She dislikes the Earl of Surrey, who came with her from England, and remarks that he is "in great favor with *this King here*" — (doubtless because the Earl opposed some of her whimsical ways.) "He and the Bishop of Murray order every thing as nigh as they can to the King's pleasure ; I pray God it may be for my poor heart's ease in time to come."

It was impossible that happiness should come of such a marriage ; the disparity of years was too great, seeing that James might have been Margaret's father. In her sixteenth year, she had a son, but she nearly died in childbed. James then made a pedestrian pilgrimage to St. Ninian's shrine, on her behalf, in the course of which he renewed his acquaintance with the fair Jane Kennedy, mother of his son James Stuart. Such pilgrimages were very frequent ; and they greatly irritated the mind of young Margaret. James treated her as a child, while the strong feelings of an insulted woman were growing in her bosom. In 1512, she had had four children, of whom three died ; the fourth survived, to be James V.

This prince, after his infancy, was given in charge to David Lindsay, the poet, afterwards knighted and made Lord Lion King-at-Arms.

In 1513, James IV. had resolved on a war with England. He sent his herald to young Henry VIII., then besieging Terouenne, to declare hostilities on account of several Scottish subjects cruelly used in prison, refusing to pay "our wiffs legacy" (left by Prince Arthur at his decease,) and other good causes of "sturt and strife." Anne of Brittany sent James a ring from her finger, bidding him, as her knight, go three days' march across the border into England.

"The fair Queen Anne of France
Sent him a Turquois ring and glove,
And charged him, as her knight and love,
For her to break a lance;
And strike three strokes with Scottish brand,
And march three miles on Southron land,
And bid the banners of his band
In English breezes dance!"

The political meaning that lay under all this poetry was, that the King of Scotland should make such a diversion at home as would check King Henry's military operations in France. Queen Margaret was greatly discontented with the King's determination to march south, and, it is said, complained that Queen Anne sent her husband "ane love-letter." She wished to dissuade James from the war, and told him some deadly dreams which seemed to presage no good. She also, doubtless, tried to work on his superstitions, by sending to him, while praying in the Abbey church of St. Michael, that old "gaberlunzie man" mentioned by Lindsay of Pit-scottie, who says the stranger approached the King, and told him that his (the visitor's) mother sent him to warn his Grace against the war. Other juggleries were made use of to dissuade the King; but, *tenax propositi*, he would march; and at the head of the motley *wapentake* of his kingdom, he took his way southwards, to return no more. He was met and defeated by his old friend, Lord Surrey, at Flodden —

Where shivered was fair Scotland's spear,
And broken was her shield.

A corpse, supposed by some to be the King's, and by others that of Lord Elphinstone, was embalmed by Surrey's orders, and sent, with James's armor, to Richmond palace. The

body remained unburied for half a century ; because the King lay under the excommunication of Pope Julius II. for the invasion of England. This excommunication may have had something to do with the uncertainty that has ever hung over the fate of James and his body. We have never seen this suggestion made, but believe the truth to be involved in this ban under which the King of Scotland lay, and which, of course, forbade christian burial to his corpse. Fifty years after the battle of Flodden, the body, supposed to be that of James, was buried in Wood street church, London, by the King's plumber ; as we are informed by Stowe, in his Annals.

Queen Margaret wrote a letter to her brother, requesting that hostilities should cease ; and twenty days after her husband's death, she had James V. crowned at Scone. The ceremony was remembered in Scotland as the Mourning Coronation. Margaret was declared Regent in her twenty-fourth year. She gave birth to another son, the Duke of Ross, in a few months ; and, in less than a year, married the Earl of Angus, Archibald Douglas, then in his nineteenth year. The marriage was private ; and great was the discontent of the realm to find the Queen so closely connected with the overbearing house of Douglas. The council of the kingdom deposed the Queen from the Regency, and sent the Lion King-at-Arms to summon young Angus before it, to answer for his boldness in marrying her. The said Lion, on going into her presence-chamber, met a greater lion than himself ; for, on hailing Margaret as " the mother of his grace the King," he was saluted with a blow from the old Lord Drummond, who, with his grandson, Angus, was standing near the Queen's chair at the time. The lords sent to summon the Duke of Albany from France, to assume the Regency ; and the Queen kept up a correspondence with her brother, demanding his support for herself and the Douglasses. She asked for the aid of a fleet and an army against the forces of the united lords. But in 1515, Albany arrived as Regent, and changed the aspect of affairs. Lord Drummond had his estate confiscated for insulting the Lion ; but on account of his age, he soon got it back again. The Queen was then called on to surrender her children to the Regent ; but she refused, and retired to Stirling (then spelled Striveling) castle. Albany besieged her there, and obliged her to give them up. With the assistance of her husband Angus, she made her escape, and took

refuge in England, where, in Harbottle castle, then commanded by Lord Dacre, she was delivered of her daughter, Lady Margaret Douglas, the future mother of Lord Darnley, so tragically destroyed at the Kirk of Field. In the midst of her sickness in this rude fortress, she heard of the death of one of her sons, the Lord Ross.

Henry invited his sister to London, and she proceeded to the south; but without Lord Angus, who quitted her at Morpeth, and went back to the borders. She made her entry into London, in 1516, after a thirteen years' absence, riding behind Sir Thomas Parr, on a white palfrey. One of King Henry's first questions was, "where is my Lord of Angus?" and when informed that he would not accompany her, he said, "done like a Scot." He who had half the Scottish peerage in his pay would very naturally hold the national character lightly. The Queen then took measures to have all her personal property withdrawn from Scotland. Having remained at Baynard's castle a whole year, at Henry's charges, Margaret, of course by his advice, resolved to go back to Scotland, seeing that the Regent Albany was then going away to France. She took her little daughter with her. Her agreement with her brother was, that peace between England and Scotland should be preserved only on condition that the lords of the latter country should treat her with respect. On her arrival there, the latter began to call her to account for a large sum of money left by James IV. to his son; and as she would not refund, they confiscated part of her property. Of this she complained to Henry, and asked him to seize Scottish ships on the coast, and remit her the proceeds, — so as to square accounts with her enemies. She was forever asking Henry for supplies, exclaiming against the Scottish lords, and promising to create a strong English influence in the kingdom — thus proving herself an adept in all the arts of avarice and treason. She quarrelled irreconcilably with her husband, and began to desire the return of Albany for the purpose of punishing Angus, who was also poaching upon her estates and jointures. Albany returned in 1521, and was cordially assisted by the Queen in banishing Angus and his brother to France.

Margaret then breathed at ease, got her rents, and held free intercourse with her son, the prince. Her next desire

was, to procure a divorce from Angus ; and after Albany had again gone away to France, and left her Regent, she succeeded. The divorce was pronounced in Scotland and Ancona, greatly against the wishes of Henry VIII., who favored the Douglasses, the most traitorous family then in Scotland. A little while after, the Queen Regent married Lord Henry Stuart, created Earl of Methven — (then pronounced and generally written, *Muffin*.) But, alas for the instability of human affection ! — she wanted to divorce him also, in 1537. Apparently, she wished to have as many husbands as her brother, Henry VIII., had wives. She was prevented, however, by her son, King James, now twenty-five years old, who had just returned from France, bringing with him his delicate and doomed young bride, Madelaine of Valois. In 1541, Margaret was struck with palsy, at Methven castle, and felt that the final divorce was about to be pronounced. She prepared herself, and acknowledged that her conscience was very uneasy regarding Lord Angus, and that she asked God's mercy that she had offended him, as she had. Miss Strickland sums up her history thus : —

“ Her misdeeds, and the misfortunes attributable to her personal conduct, gave rise to most of the terrible calamities which befell her descendants. Some persons among the aristocracy of Scotland followed her evil example of divorce, which caused long and angry litigation concerning the birthright of their descendants. The fearful feud between the houses of Arran and Darnley-Stuart was of this kind, which deeply involved the prosperity of her granddaughter, Mary, Queen of Scots. And that hapless Princess was likewise marked as a victim by the cold and crafty Ruthven, on account of his family interests being affected by Queen Margaret's marriages and divorces.

“ A succession of tragedies, for three generations, was the consequence of Margaret Tudor's indulgence of her selfish passions. Nor are the woes attendant on the contempt of the divine institution of marriage limited to the great ones of the earth. Many a domestic tragedy, though shrouded in the obscurity of everyday life, may be traced to the same cause. Sorrow enters with sin ; it desolates the peace of home ; and unoffending children suffer for the evil of their parents, whenever persons are found to break, either by wilful passions or litigious contest, the earliest law given by the Almighty.” — Vol. i. pp. 244, 245.

The next Queen of Scotland came like a shadow, and so

departed. She was daughter of Francis the First of France, and born in 1520, when her future husband, James V., was eight years old. In 1533, James, being then twenty-one, applied for her hand. But Francis demurred, on account of her youth and ill health. James's attention was then, for a time, turned to her cousin, the Princess Mary, of Vendome, and (with that romantic spirit which always distinguished the Stuarts, and which sent his grandson, Charles I., when Prince of Wales, in company with Buckingham, to see the Spanish Infanta,) he embarked with one hundred gentlemen, at Leith, intending to proceed *incognito* to the court of the young lady's father. But his followers, who supposed they were all going in the direction of London, to look after the princess Mary, refused to accompany him when they saw the ship's head turned towards the French coast, and forced the pilot to steer them back to Scotland. James was in a great rage; but they treated him as a light-headed young gentleman that did not rightly know what he was about, and he was obliged to submit. A little time after, he carried out his first resolve, and passed over into France, with a dozen lords, gentlemen, and abbots. At Dieppe, he assumed a disguise, and, attended by two or three of his trustiest friends, journeyed to Paris. Thence he proceeded, as the servant of one of his officers, and made his appearance among the menials of the castle of Vendome on the occasion of a great *fête*. But, as Lindsay of Pitcottie assures us, the young princess, who had heard of his coming, and felt a strong partiality for so distinguished a lover, contrived to discover him in the crowd by his likeness to a miniature of himself, which she always carried in her bosom. She therefore went up to him, greeted him, and announced him, to the surprise and joy of the whole court.

James, however, for some indistinct reasons, left Vendome before the courtship could be ripened into marriage. Some go so far as to say he did not like the lady. At all events, he travelled away to the court of the King of France, who was then sojourning at Lyons, with his family, and in deep mourning for the death of the Dauphin. The Duke of Orleans, his other son, first met the young King of Scots in a chapel of the city, and took him joyfully to the King's castle. When they arrived, Francis had gone to his cham-

ber to take his afternoon repose. The prince, however, went hastily to the door, and knocked loudly. The King asked what was the matter, and being told the King of Scotland was at the door, leaped at once from his couch, and came to take his visitor in his arms. The moment the sickly Magdalene saw the gay young prince, she began to love him so well "that she would have none to be her husband but he *allanerlie*, (only.) When James applied for the princess, it was objected that he was engaged to the heiress of Vendome, with whose feelings, it was the belief, that he had been trifling. But after a long debate in the French Council, it was decided that the two obstinate young lovers should be gratified; though the King felt reluctant to send away the delicate Madelaine to brave the severe climate of Scotland. She herself, however, defied such gloomy augury, and seemed to grow stronger and better, as if her spirits had power to overcome bodily infirmity. She and King James were married at Nôtre Dame, in 1537, the ceremony being one of rare magnificence.

"In the evening the banquet was in the grand hall of the palace, on which occasion the members of the Court of Parliament were among the invited guests, and attended in their red robes. After supper there were games, dances, and splendid masks.

"King James's New-Year's gifts to minstrels and musicians, on this occasion, were as follows,—'Item given to the King of France's trumpets for their New-Year's gifts, twenty-two crowns; to his hautboys, twenty-two crowns; to his siflers (fifers) six crowns; to his cornets, sixteen crowns. To the Queen of Navarre's hautboys, ten crowns.' Lastly, James gave a benefaction of twelve crowns to the tambourner of his royal bride. It was a well-calculated economy thus to unite the New Year's and the bridal gifts. The good people of Paris, who had watched with sympathizing interest the progress of this royal romance of love and wedlock, had their full share of pleasure in the fêtes and pageants which took place in honor of the bridal of '*le beau Roi d' Ecosse*,' as they styled King James V., with the eldest daughter of France, 'for,' says Lindsay of Pitscottie, 'there never was so great a solemnity and triumph seen in France in one day, as was then, since the time of King Charles the Main. For there was such jousting and tournaments, both on horse and foot, in burgh and land, and also upon the sea with ships; and so much artillery shot in all parts of France, both on the land and sea, in castles, towns, and villages, that no man might hear

for the *reard* (roaring,) thereof; and also the riotous banqueting, delicate and costly clothings, triumphant plays and feasts, with pleasant sound of instruments of all kinds; and also cunning carvers, having the art of necromancy, to cause things appear which were not, as, flying dragons in the air, shots of fire at other's heads, great rivers of waters running through the town, and ships fighting thereupon, as it had been in bullering streams of the sea, shooting of guns like cracks of thunder: and these wonders were seen both by the nobility and common people."—Vol. i. p. 284.

When Henry VIII., who designed his daughter Mary for James, heard of this marriage, he refused to receive the French herald, Pommeraye, for several days, and when he finally gave him audience, looked and spoke savagely. When Mary of Vendome heard of the marriage, she declared her purpose of retiring to a convent for life. After a stay of four months in France, James and his bride took leave of the King, the Queen, and the court of France "with great drinking on every side," and came to Scotland. There Magdalene was received with acclamation; but she declined rapidly, and died at the end of forty days, aged sixteen years. She was buried in the royal vault of Holyrood Abbey. In 1688, the theological mob broke into the place, tore the lids from the coffins, and pulled out the bodies. Among these the body of Magdalene was desecrated shamefully. Arnott, the historian, saw it in 1776, and said that the head was then entire, and very beautiful. It was, however, afterwards stolen.

Among the lovely women James had met in France, he admired most the Duchess of Longueville, whom he first saw at the castle of Vendome. She was sister of the duke of Vendome, and her eyes must have sparkled with interest and mirth when James made his first romantic appearance there. She was also present, along with her husband, the Duke of Longueville, at the marriage of James, in the cathedral of Notre Dame. When the King of Scotland had become a widower, she was the widow of a month and a day, after a marriage of three years. At the end of a few months, James sent David Beton and Lord Maxwell to negotiate with and for this beautiful daughter of the House of Guise. Her father, Claude, Duke of Lorraine, was the founder of that high-reaching family. On her widowhood, she was offered,

almost simultaneously, the crowns matrimonial of England and Scotland. She refused the offer of the Tudor Bluebeard for very good reasons, and accepted that of James. She brought him 150,000 *livres de tournois*; and he, in return, nobly dowered her, in Scotland, with "lands and livings many a rood." The Lord Maxwell married the widow by proxy, at Nôtre Dame, and then Mary and her train came to her future country. Madame Montreuil, with eight other ladies of honor, belonging to the deceased Queen Magdalene, being then dismissed, they passed through London, on their way to France. Henry VIII. gave them good entertainment, with a desire to outshine the hospitalities of the northern kingdom. The Lord Mayor was ordered to provide them with "ten great carps, ten great eels, ten great pikes, a portion of salmon and sturgeon, a certain quantity of tenches and breams, and other fishes that could be gotten, with ten sugar loaves, ten wax torches, and white wine and claret in abundance, at their dinners and suppers."

Among the dramatic representations got up by Sir David Lindsay, for the amusement of the Scottish Court, were certain saturnalian comedies, ridiculing the Catholic religion in many of its rites and ceremonies. The King and Queen not only countenanced these, but seemed to enjoy them. The royal pair were constantly changing their abode, and carrying their furniture of all sorts along with them.

"All the historians of the period agree that Mary of Lorraine spent the first year of her marriage with James V. at St. Andrews; yet the entries in the Compotus prove that she and the King were constantly changing their place of abode from one palace to another, and were seldom stationed long anywhere. Their tapestry, beds, plate, and other articles of furniture, were generally removed at the same time for their use, King James being possessed of more houses than goods, notwithstanding the rich plenishing his late Queen Magdalene brought with her from France. Mary of Lorraine brought little in comparison, and among those we notice hangings with the arms of Longueville, pertaining to her late husband.

"At the King's great hunting at Meggotland, several horse-loads of beds were brought from Peebles, also 'the tapestry that lies under the King and Queen's feet, from Linlithgow to Sterling.'

"The Treasurer sent to Falkland Palace, Nov. 16, ten ells of green burge satin, to be ane gown to Senat, the Queen's fool.

This functionary was a female ; for the next article enumerates ' 14 ells of linen claith to be " her " sarkis. Violet powder pokes, (bags,) to lay among the King's claiths,' cost 6 shillings Scots. An ell and a quarter of purple velvet was provided to be ' shoon ' for the King's Grace. ' Ane ell of purple velvet to be covering to the King's book, and ane poke to put it in.' Sewing gold, cords, fringes, knobs, and borders, are charged as ornaments to the said book and poke to put in ; and for workmanship, £3 19s.

" The Queen was likewise provided with velvet-bound books and ornamental ' pokes to put them in.' The King's Comptous testifies of purple velvet delivered to Helen Ross, one of the Queen's ladies, ' to cover ane matin book for the Queen's Grace, and to make a poke to put it in of the same ; moreover, she had red damask to line the said poke. David Chapman was paid ten shillings for binding and laying about the said matin book with gold. Helen Ross was given eight single hanks of gold to border the book, and the poke, and knobs thereto, and silk to string the poke with, besides costly workmanship to the amount of £3 10s. — all which, excepting the actual binding, was done by the Queen's lady.'

" The expenses of the carriage of the Queen's wardrobe, and those of her gentlewomen, give the intelligence that they ' went furth of Falkland to Kirkaldy, December 16, after the Queen's marriage. A barn was hired at Kirkaldy to deposit them therein, and two men had wage to walk the same,' — to watch, or walk as sentries, at the barn of Kirkaldy. Boats were hired at Kinghorn to ferry the Queen's wardrobe over the water, and finally, the royal party settled at Stirling. The King ordered chains of gold, gold rings, tablets, and other goldsmith's work, to make his Christmas presents. For this jewelry he paid Thomas Ryne, goldsmith, £239 19s. ; besides three chains and two hearts of gold, for further New Year's gifts, to the amount of £23. The court was at Linlithgow a month afterward, when the King sent to Edinburgh for a coffer of silver work, and other gear, to the Laird of *Dunnis* marriage. Vol. i. pp. 338, 339.

These particulars indicate the extreme rarity of those manufactured articles of personal and household convenience, which are now within the reach of the humblest classes of society.

James the Fifth is thought to have written the poem of *Christ's Kirk on the Green* in the first year of his second marriage. It shows the extreme familiarity with the thoughts and ways of the commonalty which distinguished the Stuarts in Scotland. Mr. George Chalmers gives apparently good

reasons for concluding that James I. was not the author of this poem. The coronation of Mary of Lorraine did not take place at once. She delayed till her miners at Crawford Moor had gathered golden dust enough to make a circlet and other gold ornaments proper to the ceremony. A little superstition was mingled with her religious feelings, and she attached a certain importance to the "gold of the mine." The "Comptus," or Royal expense-book of that time, says that John Patterson charged 34 shillings for a case for the King's new crown; and Thomas Arthur had half an ell of rich purple given to him, to make a cap for the inside of the new crown. John Mossman, the King's goldsmith, got 31 ounces of silver, to make a sceptre for the Queen against her coronation; and four rose nobles were given, *out of the treasury*, to gild the sceptre. All this seems to show the simplicity and poverty of the royal resources. Indeed, it is probable that, till this replenishment, there were not enough regalia in the treasury to crown Mary with any decent show of queenliness.

At this time Henry VIII., by his ambassador, Sir Ralph Sadler, tried to induce James to fortify his exchequer by laying hands upon the property of the monasteries. But James was steady in his refusal, saying frankly: "By my troth, I thank God I have enough to live on, and if we mister (need) any thing that they have, we may have it at our pleasure." James would not risk the displeasure of his Queen and of the King of France. He had a great delicacy of constitution, and was subject to sleeplessness and bad dreams. A dream of his is recorded, in which he fancied Sir James Hamilton of Finart was going to stab him with a sword. His two sons perished in their infancy, to the deep affliction of both the parents. The health of James thus received a shock which was deepened by the defection of his nobles and the destruction of his army by the swelling of the Solway at Fala Muir. A depression and derangement of mind followed, and he took to his bed at his palace of Falkland, with a presentiment that he should never leave it. At this juncture, the Queen was at Linlithgow, in child-bed. When she was delivered of a daughter, afterwards the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots, the news was carried to the King where he lay in extremity. The announcement was one more blow;

for he had hopes of a son. "Farewell," he said, "to the crown of Scotland! It came with *a lass*, and it will go with *a lass*!" So saying, he turned his face to the wall. Cardinal Beton gave him a paper, appointing a regency, which the King signed mechanically. After a while, there came the gleam of consciousness before death; and, recognizing his friends about the couch, James "gave ane little laughter," or smile, and then, holding up his hands in a praying attitude, breathed his last, at the age of thirty-one. The vehement and not always trustworthy John Knox hints that Cardinal Beton poisoned the King, with the connivance of Mary of Lorraine. But history has utterly disproved this, among other things assumed or asserted by that fierce iconoclast. The royal Compositus, kept by Kirkaldy of Grange at this time, gives an idea of the simple way in which the funeral obsequies of kings were performed in the olden times. "Item, the ferd day of Januar, given to two boys to warn the gentillmen of Fyffe for the conveying of the Kingis grace body fra Falkland to the Ferry, xvjs."

When King Henry VIII. heard of the death of James V., he began to entertain anew his old idea of preparing for the union of the two crowns under one head; and, releasing the Scottish nobles, whom he had held in opprobrious durance since the defeat at Fala Muir, he banqueted them, and so winning them over to his views, seven of them promised, should they be sent back to their country, to give up its strongest fortresses to the English during the minority of the princess, and also to cause her, if necessary, to be surrendered into his keeping. Henry's determinations in this matter were very vehement, and time fulfilled his wishes; but not in the way he anticipated. Providence set aside all his fierce and self-willed plans, and, by a series of strange and unexpected strokes, showed how vain are all the best laid schemes of the subtlest and strongest among men. The connection which was to bring about what he desired most — the union of England and Scotland — had already taken place, though he knew it not; and nothing of all he planned, as the means to that union, ever came to pass. He subsidized every traitor in Scotland, for the purpose of securing the hand of the princess Mary for his son Edward. The English influence grew strong in the northern kingdom, the Douglasses had returned thither to support that influence, and Mary of

Lorraine trembled lest they should tear her beloved child from her arms. Henry's ambassador, Sadler, came to the north to help on every negotiation and movement which could favor the betrothal of the two unconscious children.

But to all the efforts of Henry and his agents, Mary opposed the dissimulation of the Guises, made sacred, in this case, by the feelings of a mother; and the King at last informed Sadler, that, if the *old* Queen (Mary of Lorraine was then in her 28th year) showed a design to remove the child from Linlithgow, he was to persuade the Douglasses to take her off to Tantallon, and thus effectually separate her from her mother. No thought of pity for the poor little suckling herself seems to have entered into the mind of the royal schemer. But the Earls of Lennox and Bothwell, — all for love of the queenly widow, — put themselves at the head of ten thousand men, and riding to Linlithgow, where the two Marys were staying, took them away in triumph to the strong fortress of Stirling. There the young Queen was crowned, and placed under the protection of the Lords Lindsay, Livingstone, Erskine, and Graham. This *coup d'état* was made in a timely manner; for the Lord-Governor, Arran, and the traitorous Douglasses were on the point of getting the queens into their power, and bending them to the policy of England.

In 1543, the Governor concluded a treaty with Henry, affiancing the young Queen to Prince Edward. This was soon revoked by the parliament; and in 1544, Henry VIII. sent a fleet and army to invade Scotland. The Lords of the Congregation — those who leaned to the doctrines of the Reformation, and opposed the Catholic party of Mary of Lorraine — either coöperated with the enemy, or beheld his invasion and the ravages attending it with indifference. The English army landed from ships at the Frith of Forth. Edinburgh was taken by storm, and almost laid in ashes; and Leith, Granton, and the towns and villages on both sides of the Forth were plundered and burned. The devastations of fire, sword, and famine were dreadful. In a little time, the King of France sent five thousand soldiers, under M. de Lorge Montgomery, to sustain Mary of Lorraine and the cause of the Queen. Thus was Scotland divided against itself. On one side, were the Queen Regent and the Catholic party of her government, supported by the King of France; and on

the other, the Lords of the Congregation, relying dishonorably upon the support of Henry, and advocating a reform which would force the hierarchy to disgorge its wealthy temporalities. Along with these extreme agencies, there existed a variety of turbulent and changing combinations and plots, while the *odium theologicum*, nourished by John Knox on the one side, and Cardinal Beton on the other, embittered all the strife. George Wishart, the reformer, was taken and burnt by the Cardinal and the Governor Arran, and Beton was, in turn, put violently out of the world by the milder stroke of an assassin.

Henry VIII. fomented, and tried to profit by, the distractions of Scotland. But he died in 1557, and there was an end to all his schemes. In the same year died his ally or rival, Francis I. If they could have held a *post mortem* colloquy, after the manner of Fontenelle's ghostly moralists, they would have smiled or sighed together, to recall the fierce vanities of their days in the world. But the turbulent business of this last went on, all the same; and Scotland, France, and England continued to be agitated by the passions of their rulers.

In 1557, the Duke of Somerset, Protector of the realm of Edward VI., invaded Scotland by sea and land,—the great object being the winning of the hand of the beautiful little Catholic princess for the boy king of England. The Earl of Arran, Governor of Scotland, summoned the *landwehr* of the kingdom to the field. The Scottish army, to the number of 40,000, gathered at Musselburg, where the Earl of Huntley, a gay Gordon, invited Somerset to decide the differences between them—as well as these were understood—by the chances of the duel. Somerset declined, but offered to withdraw if the Scots would promise to keep their young Queen at home, and remember that she was affianced to King Edward; for it was at that time reported she was betrothed to the Dauphin. The Scots refused to treat on such terms; and on the next day, was fought the disastrous battle of Pinkie Cleugh, in which they were defeated with great slaughter. Somerset sacked Edinburgh a second time; and while Arran prepared to retrieve the disasters of the country, Mary of Lorraine fled with her daughter from the castle of Stirling to the priory of Inchmacome, in the lake of Menteith. She then proposed, at a convention of Scottish

lords, to send her child to the court of France, out of harm's way. This was assented to; and in 1548, M. d'Essé, who brought some French succors into the kingdom, demanded the hand of the princess for the Dauphin. This demand was cheerfully acceded to, and the mother prepared to part from a child whom she loved with the strongest affection. The necessity was a cruel one; but the alternative was still more repugnant to the feelings of Mary of Lorraine. She wept bitterly on parting with her little Queen, beside the steep of Dumbarton; but soon consoled by a sense of the child's safety, she dried her eyes, and began to take an active part in animating the French and German allies in their efforts to drive back the English from the soil of Scotland. Several advantages were obtained over the invaders, particularly after she had found means to detach the Douglasses from the English alliance. In 1550, this miserable seven years' war, springing from the tyrannical policy of Henry VIII., was terminated, Scotland being included in the treaty of peace between Henry II. of France and Edward VI. of England.

Mary, who had been regularly cheered by the most favorable accounts of her beautiful child, prepared to go to France to see her and also her son by the Duke of Longueville. Henry II. wrote to Edward VI., soliciting a safe-conduct for the Queen Dowager; and it was sent, written and sealed by Edward himself, who ordered that, wherever it might be the pleasure of Mary to land on his coasts, she should be supplied with provisions at his charges. This shows that the amiable young prince either entertained no malice against her for sending away his promised bride, or hoped it was not even now too late to propitiate her feelings towards him. The Queen then passed to France with a noble retinue. She sailed from Leith, and, after a stormy voyage of twelve days—the time a Collins or Cunard ship now takes to cross the Atlantic—landed at Havre de Grace in Normandy. On her way to Paris, she visited her son, the Duke of Longueville, fifteen years old. She then passed on to Rouen, where she was “almost worshipped as a goddess by the court.” But the principal Scots of her train filled the court with brawling, chiding, and fighting for their lodgings, and other quarrels among themselves. The little Queen Mary, who longed to see her mother, after a separation of two years,

had been taught a long pedantic speech, to be delivered, *en reine*, at the interview. But the moment Mary saw the child, she spoiled the programme by going at once, snatching her to her breast, and caressing her with the most vehement fondness, unrestrained by the presence of the court. The little Queen then began, and went through her oration in good set terms. At Rouen, Mary of Lorraine enjoyed the society of both her children, and spent some of the happiest days of her life.

Just as she was on the point of returning to Scotland, it was discovered that a plot had been formed to poison the little Queen of Scots. A gentleman named Henderson denounced Robert Stuart, of the king's guard, son of a Scottish baron, as having confessed to him his design of removing young Mary by poison. Stuart, who had fled to England and been arrested and examined by the king's counsel, said he was instigated by the Earl of Lennox and his brother, Lord d'Aubigny. Robert was taken back to Paris, and, having confessed his crime in presence of Henry II., was executed. Mary of Lorraine suffered a fit of illness in consequence of the shock received from these occurrences. When she recovered, she attended the French court in its progresses, and witnessed the gayeties that attended them. At last, she bid her child adieu, — which proved a final one, — and passed to Joinville to visit her widowed mother, the Duchess Dowager of Guise, then in mourning for the death of the Duke. The castle was all hung with black, and the Duchess had her own coffin lying in the gallery leading from her rooms to the chapel. From this abode of sorrow Mary of Lorraine proceeded to what was soon destined to be also a house of mourning. At Longueville, her son, the young duke, expired in her arms, of consumption. She afterwards went to the coast, where, at Dieppe, she received another safe-conduct from the English sovereign, and embarked for Scotland, she and her train dressed in deep mourning.

King Edward, in his "Journal," which has been preserved, records that the Queen Dowager of Scotland was driven by a tempest to land at Portsmouth. She sent him word that she had landed, and would pay him a visit. He made arrangements with his Council to receive her cordially, and lodged her at Hampton Court. A notification of these things

was duly made to the ladies Mary and Elizabeth. At this time, these princesses had little prospect of the crown. They were considered illegitimate; and Mary Queen of Scots, great grandchild of Henry VII., appeared the heir of the succession, failing issue of the reigning king. Mary of Lorraine was forwarded with honorable attendance, and received by sixty ladies of the first consideration in England. "Her lodgings, on the Queen's side," says King Edward, "were all hanged with arras, and so was the hall, and all the other lodges of mine were very fairly dressed, and this night and the next day all were spent in dancing and pastime, as though it were a court, and great presence of gentlemen resorted thither." Mary then went down to the city in a barge, and was lodged at Baynard's castle. The following is a pleasant and graphic description of these ancient passages of royal courtesy.

"King Edward having assigned to Dr. Ridley, Bishop of London, the honor of lodging and entertaining his royal visitor, she landed at Baynard Castle, where, being received by the Duke of Northumberland, Lord Willoughby, and others, she mounted her horse, and, attended by a grand equestrian cavalcade of the Scotch and English nobles, both ladies and gentlemen, rode from the wharf to the Bishop's palace at St. Paul's. 'On her arrival, the Lord Mayor sent her, as a guest of the city, great gifts of provisions, *beefs, muttons, veals, swines*, bread, wildfowl, wine, beer, spices, quails, sturgeon, wood, coals, and salmon, and all things, by divers *men*."

"This frank offering of civic hospitality, in the form of uncooked provisions in such profusion, leads to the conclusion that the royal stranger had to furnish forth her own table and that of her numerous followers in her episcopal lodgings. King Edward merely notes in his journal that day, 'She came to the Bishop's palace in London, and there she lay [slept that night] with all her train lodged about her.' Not a word of her being entertained. The citizens continued to send in vast stores of eatables all the next day for her use, which were received very graciously, and suitable responses made to all the complimentary deputations that waited upon her. Among the rest, there was one from the young sovereign, for the account of which we are indebted to his own journal: 'The Duke of Suffolk, November 3, with many lords and gentlemen, were sent to welcome her [the Queen Dowager of Scotland,] and to say on my behalf, that if she lacked any thing, she should have it for her better furniture; also, that I would willingly see her the day following.'

"On that important morning appointed for her reception by the youthful Majesty of England in his fifteenth year, Mary of Lorraine went in grand state from St. Paul's to Westminster in a chariot, wherein was seated by her side the maternal sister of her late consort James V., the Lady Margaret, at once her sister-in-law, the aunt of her daughter, and the wife of the traitor Lennox, her rejected lover. In the same chariot were also two other English princesses connected with the regal succession, who were related in equal degree to King Edward and her own daughter Mary Queen of Scots, namely, Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, and Lady Jane Grey. Preëminent in rank, as they were soon to be in calamity, above all others in the glittering cavalcade, these royal ladies were of course the central point of attraction for all eyes. Objects of envy doubtless they were to some in the attendant procession of titled English matrons, who, to the number of a hundred, brought up the rear, including the Duchesses of Richmond and Northumberland; but, if the gloomy destiny that impended over each member of that proudly distinguished quartette could have been unveiled, the meanest pedestrian, the most abject beggar by the wayside, would not have wished to exchange lots with any of them. But thus, unconscious of the dark future that awaited each other, rode on in stately companionship the ambitious mothers of those kindred victims, Mary Stuart, Darnley, and Lady Jane Grey,—and the Lady Jane herself, the youngest, the wisest, and the happiest of the party, because the holiest, and the first to be dismissed from the pains and penalties inherited with the royal blood of York and Lancaster.

"The Dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk received the illustrious visitor at the portals of the palace, and conducted her to the hall where the young King stood. He advanced to meet her, the Earl of Warwick bearing the sword of state before him. On his approach, Mary of Lorraine courtesied so low that it amounted almost to a genuflexion. Edward took her by the hand, kissed, embraced, and welcomed her in gracious and affectionate terms, then led her into his own presence-chamber, where the presentation of her Scottish ladies to him took place. The youthful sovereign courteously saluted every one, though he modestly omits any allusion to that part of the ceremony in the record he has made of his reception and entertainment of the fair Dowager of Scotland and her ladies. We should do the regal chronicler great wrong, if we did not cite in full his naïve account of the proceedings of himself and his royal guest, from his journal for that memorable day.

"Nov. 4.—The Duke of Suffolk, Lord Braye, and divers other lords and gentlemen, accompanied with his wife the Lady Frances,

the Lady Margaret (Lennox), the Duchesses of Richmond and of Northumberland, the Lady Jane (Grey), daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, the Marquises of Northampton and Winchester, the Countesses of Arundel, Bedford, Huntingdon, and Rutland, with a hundred other gentlewomen, went to her, and brought her through London to Westminster. At the gate there received her the Duke of Northumberland (Dudley), great-master, and the treasurer, comptroller, and the Earl of Pembroke, with all the sewers and carvers and cupbearers, to the number of thirty. In the hall, I met her, with all the lords of my council ; and from the outer gate up to the presence-chamber, on both sides, stood my guard. The court, the hall, and the stairs were full of serving-men ; the presence-chamber, great chamber, and *her* presence-chamber, of gentlemen. And so, having brought her to her chamber, I retired to mine. I went to her to dinner. She dined under the same cloth of *estate*, at my left hand. At her rearward dined my cousin *Francis* and my cousin Margaret ; at mine [rearward] sat the French ambassador. We were served by two services, two sewers, cupbearers, carvers, and gentlemen. Her master *hostell* came before her service, and my officers before mine. There were two cupboards, one of gold, four stages high ; another of massy silver, six stages high. In her great chamber, dined at three boards the ladies only. After dinner, when she had heard some music, I brought her to the hall, and so she went away.' " — Vol. ii. pp. 141 – 144.

Remarkably enough, neither of the princesses, Mary or Elizabeth, is mentioned by the King as being present on any of these occasions. They never came to see the queen-mother of Scotland. It has been recorded, but not by King Edward, that in a short private conversation with Mary of Lorraine, he alluded to his former betrothal to the young Queen of Scots. Having asked how his visitor liked England, and being told she liked every thing in it, but its king best of all, he made answer, " And yet you would not have me for your son." Mary then explained, that the barbarities accompanying the English invasions had naturally alienated her people and herself. It is stated that King Edward renewed his suit with earnestness, and declared he would be the eternal enemy of whomsoever the Scottish Queen should espouse. Thus importuned, the queen-mother pretended to be willing to open negotiations again, and promised to use her influence for that purpose. She was very favorably impressed by her young host, and she used

afterwards to declare, that he had more sense than any three ripe-aged princes in Europe. He certainly treated her with infinite care and courtesy, in keeping with the name he has left behind. By his forethought, all the stages of her journey to her own country were made easy and dignified. She passed from London to Edinburgh, in eighteen days, over a space now traversed in a day.

Henry II., of France, kept up a regular correspondence with Mary of Lorraine, and alludes, in one of his letters, with many expressions of regret, to the death of Edward VI., who had been affianced to his daughter, Elizabeth Valois. In 1554, the young Queen of Scots, being twelve years old, removed Arran from the Regency, and made her mother Regent. James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, was then, in compensation, made Duke of Chatelherault in France. John Knox, the fierce opponent of the Guises and Catholicity, says, in allusion to some sort of circlet put on the dowager's head on investing her with the Regency, "A crown put upon her head, — as seemly a sight (if men had eyes) as to put a saddle on the back of an unruly kow." The reformer here shows that he remembered his Horace, and *optat ephippia bos piger*. But his satire was untrue when applied to one of the tallest and most majestic women in Europe, in that age; and, in spite of her Guisean blood, very far from being one of the worst.

Mary of Lorraine, in her office of Regent, seems to have borne her faculties with prudence and the general approval of the people, — Knox and the reformers excepted. But she allowed herself to be employed by Henry II. of France, to aid his ally, Philip of Spain, by making an inroad against England. She collected the military strength of the kingdom for this purpose; but, as usual, the Scottish *landwehr* was reluctant to march south, and her nobles obliged her to let them all go back again. To fight for plunder or personal revenge would be a reasonable thing; but to make war for an indistinct reason of state — a foreign treaty — was another affair, particularly as each man was obliged to furnish his own provisions, and carry them on his back, to boot.

In 1558, Mary Queen of Scots was married to the Dauphin. Pageants and bonfires celebrated this great event in both countries; and in Scotland, the large cannon, Mons

Meg, was fired repeatedly from the castle of Edinburgh. But as ammunition was scarce, the cannoneers were sent after the balls discharged, and they were duly brought back, some of them having been found two miles off, at Wardie Moor.

The Regent found herself in a perilous position, between the Church on the one hand, and the Reformers on the other. Mary's character is fairly vindicated against the false impressions produced by Knox and others. She naturally favored her own church ; but she was clement, and, in a great degree, tolerant. But the Catholic hierarchy of the kingdom was cruel and tyrannical, and involved her in the odium of its acts. The Archbishop of St. Andrews obliged her to issue a summons against a popular preacher, Paul Methven, who had boldly spoken Protestant doctrines. Paul came to Holyrood, to the clerical convention ; but along with him came such a crowd of heretics, in steel caps and carrying swords, that the court and Catholic party were greatly terrified.

"The west-country gentlemen, strong in numbers, fervent in spirit, and clad in steel withal, instead of yielding obedience to the mandate, came in a body to the palace to protest against it, uttering threats both loud and deep against the prelates, to whose influence it was attributed. The affrighted hierarchy fled for refuge into the Queen-Regent's privy-chamber, followed by their antagonists, who, regardless of the inhibition of her Majesty's ushers and officers, rudely forced themselves into her presence, headed by James Chalmers of Gathgirth, who addressed her in these words : 'Madam, we know that this is the malice and device of these *jefwels* [jail-birds,] and of that bastard [meaning the Archbishop of St. Andrews] who stands by you. We avow to God we shall make a day of it. They oppress us and our tenants for feeding of their idle bellies ; they trouble our preachers and would murder them and us. Shall we suffer this any longer ? Na, Madam, it shall not be.' Then every man put on his steel-cap, in token of defiance. Alarming as this demonstration must have been to a defenceless woman, who saw her privacy rudely invaded, and herself surrounded by a throng of armed zealots, Mary of Lorraine betrayed neither anger nor personal terror on this occasion, but endeavored, in her broken Scotch, to soothe and pacify the intruders with gentle and endearing words. 'Nothing,' says John Knox, 'was heard on the Queen's part but 'My joys, my hearts, what ails you? *Me* means no evil to you, nor to your preachers. The Bishops shall

do you no wrong. Ye are all my loving subjects. *Me* knew nothing of this proclamation. The day of your preachers shall be discharged, and *me* will hear the controversy that is betwix the Bishops and you : they shall do you no wrong." Then turning to the Bishops she said, "My lords, I forbid you either to trouble them or their preachers." And unto the gentlemen, who were wondrously commoved, she turned again and said, "Oh, my hearts, should ye not love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your mind, and should ye not *luif* your neighbors as *yourselves* ?" With these and the like fair words, pursues Knox, 'she kept the Bishops from buffets at that time.' And much to her credit it was, that by preserving her own temper, and using gentle and persuasive language to allay the wrath of furious men, who had made themselves ready to do battle in her presence with the trembling prelates, she succeeded in preventing bloodshed. In consequence of the pacification her soft words and feminine demeanor had effected, the storm passed quietly over." — Vol. ii. pp. 188, 189.

Such was the kind treatment of the reformers by Mary, that, in a letter to Calvin, they praised her very much for "her excellent knowledge of God's word, and her good-will towards the advancement of his glory." About a year before her death, she was unhappily involved in the Catholic League of the time, by which the kings of France and Spain, the Emperor, and the Pope engaged themselves to arrest the progress of Protestantism. Mary protested against the high-handed doings of her hierarchy, and told the members of it they would only drive her subjects into violent rebellion ; but she was overborne, and the clergy determined to war uncompromisingly against the growing heresy. The Scottish reformation was not made with rose-water. At the fierce preaching of John Knox, the people became violently excited, and the ecclesiastical architecture of the kingdom suffered everywhere from the hands of the religious Vandals. The Lords of the Congregation and Queen Mary were now at open war. Mary was obliged to appeal to the Duke de Châtellherault for his support. But his influence and that of his son, the Earl of Arran, were soon employed on the most powerful side, that of the Lords. The principle of reform had been very effective and rapid in Scotland. The chief nobility were nearly all opposed to Catholic doctrine and Catholic supremacy. This reformation of the

Scottish nobles furnishes one more instance of the way in which Providence overrules all things to its own high purposes. For, much as the wealth and temporal possessions of the Church in Scotland were denounced as evil and a curse, in their day, to these very things did the great religious change owe all its rapidity and completeness. If the bishops and abbots had not possessed lands and livings to be confiscated and transferred to the proselytes from the peerage, the progress of truth would have been much slower, and the chieftainry would not have shown themselves so promptly and prominently among its votaries.

At this period, all the rebellious *reformadoes* of Scotland were secretly encouraged by Elizabeth, — with a very natural feeling of antipathy against a member of the League by which her legitimate sovereignty was denied and her religion placed under formidable ban. The French regiments, on which Mary of Lorraine was forced to rely, were peculiarly obnoxious to the Scottish barons, who refused to treat with her till she had dismissed them. She was at last obliged to take refuge, first under the guns of Edinburgh castle, held by Lord Erskine, and then, on the appearance of an English fleet in the Forth, in the castle itself. This last step was taken when she heard that Elizabeth had made a treaty with the barons, and that Lord Grey de Wilton was advancing from the Border to drive her out of Edinburgh. The retention of her French army was a great cause of jealousy and bitterness. But circumstances obliged her to adhere to this policy. Besieged and sick, in the old fortress of Dunedin, Mary, in the 45th year of her age, felt that her last moments were drawing nigh.

“Perceiving that her hours were numbered, she rallied her failing strength to make a final effort for the accomplishment of her long desire of peace. For this purpose she sent an earnest request to the Duke of Châtelherault, and all the nobles then in the neighborhood of Edinburgh, whether friends, rivals, or foes, to attend her for the last time, that she might take her leave of them all. Suspicion was conceived by the Lords of the Congregation that some evil design was premeditated by the royal widow under this touching overture, for an exchange of forgiveness, and an especial council was held for the purpose of considering whether they should comply with her request. ‘After delibera-

tion,' says John Knox, 'it was thought expedient that they should speak to her, but not all together, lest that some part of the Guisian's practice had lurked under the color of such friendship.' The dying Princess, whom they wronged by these unworthy conjectures, welcomed all those who ventured to obey her summons with a burst of generous feeling that moved many of them to tears. She expressed her regret for the miseries of the afflicted realm, and the discussions which had unhappily contributed to those evils, lamenting that any thing in her conduct should have induced them to seek support of any other than of their own Sovereign, requesting them to forgive her, as she did them, for all that had been the cause of strife on either side. Then, alluding to her supposed preference of her own country, she did not deny her love for France, but said, with deep emotion, 'For my own part, I did ever favor the weal of the realm of Scotland, (as well as France,) by reason I had the honor to be Queen-Regent thereof, and my daughter heritable Queen of the same; and if ever I did or attempted any thing which appeared to the nobles contrary to this declaration, I affirm that it has been from lack of wisdom not for want of love,' meekly adding that, if God would prolong her days, she would amend the same; and if it pleased him to call her to his mercy, she prayed them all most earnestly to return to their duty to the Queen, her daughter, their Sovereign, and to dismiss the armies both of France and England as soon as it could be accomplished. Nor did she omit to point out to them the danger they would incur, if they expelled the French and suffered the English to remain, showing them 'that the English Government had used them hitherto but as political tools, intending nothing else than the subjugation of Scotland; she greatly feared,' she said, 'that, if they allowed the English to remain after the departure of the French, they would find them inconvenient guests: therefore she prayed every good Scotchman to have respect to the liberty and welfare of his country.' She called to their remembrance 'the benefits Scotland had been accustomed to derive from the ancient alliance with France, which,' she assured them, 'they should find more to their advantage than ever, on account of the tender bond of union which the marriage between the Sovereigns of those realms had knit,' beseeching them not to forego the good that might be derivable from that connection. Feeling herself exhausted by the length and earnestness of her discourse, she desired to take her final leave of all present, beseeching them, with many tears, 'to forgive her every thing wherein she had displeased them since her arrival in Scotland,' and assured them, 'that she did from her heart pardon all they had done against her.' To excuse

all they had said must have been a difficult exercise of Christian charity; but, in doing so, Mary of Lorraine proved how greatly they had misrepresented her—for an aggressor rarely forgives. In token that she parted in peace and love with friend and foe, she kissed and embraced the nobles one by one without respect to party, and gave her hand to persons of lower degree, bidding them all farewell with gentle words, and looks full of sweetness. Sterner eyes than hers melted with unwonted softness during this mournful scene. The reformed nobles, anxious for her spiritual weal, entreated her not to rely on the ceremonial observances of her own church, but to send for one of the preachers of the true Evangile. The dying Queen consented to admit Willock, with whom she was personally acquainted, and communed with him a reasonable time. He enlarged on the efficacy of the atonement of a crucified Redeemer, and this the world-weary Queen fully admitted, professing openly her conviction ‘that there was no salvation but through the death of Jesus Christ.’ Then Willock descanted on ‘the vanity and abomination of the mass:’ to these observations Mary of Lorraine offered no rejoinder. She became speechless some hours before death; her last articulate words appear to have been her emphatic declaration of her reliance for pardon and acceptance through the atoning merits and sacrifice of Christ; ‘and thus,’ says Spottiswood, ‘ended her life most Christianly.’” Vol. ii. pp. 236, 237, 238.

The last biography in these volumes is that of the Lady Margaret Douglas, born, as the reader is aware, in the rude border fortress of Harbottle. Her mother was then wife of Archibald, Earl of Angus. Little Margaret spent some of her earliest days in London, under the protection of her uncle, Henry VIII.; and was then, at the age of eighteen months, carried back to Scotland. When three years old, her father took her away from her mother, to his castle of Tantallon. He was an unsettled and outlawed man, known to be the friend and pensioner of the English King. In all his wanderings in the border districts, he took his child with him, who, the niece of a king and the daughter of a queen, promised, in some sort, to be a protection to a man in his condition. On his return from his French exile, he brought her back with him. When James V. came to the throne in 1528, Lord Angus was again forced to fly into England, and hover about the borders, his daughter and some ladies of the house of Douglas bearing him company. At last, Margaret’s aunt, Mary Tudor, Queen Dowager of France, and widow of

the Duke of Suffolk, had her brought to London, where she was placed by Henry VIII. about the person of his daughter Mary. The two princesses became attached friends, and Henry treated his niece with great kindness. At the birth of Elizabeth, her mother, Queen Anne Boleyn, made Margaret first lady of honor to the infant princess. The household of the princess Mary was broken up, and she herself brought to live in the nursery of her sister, while the Scottish princess was considered next in rank to the latter. At this time, Lord Thomas Howard fell in love with Lady Margaret, and, in 1536, contracted a private marriage with her at the palace of Westminster. In May of that year, Henry's executioner took off Anne Boleyn's head, and parliament was ordered to declare Elizabeth illegitimate, as well as her elder sister. He next ordered Lord Thomas and his niece to be sent to the Tower for marrying without his consent. Lady Margaret was the nearest legitimate heir to the throne at that time; and the King's anger burned fiercely against all relations of his late wife, whose uncle Lord Thomas was. After a few months' confinement, the princess was removed to Sion Abbey, on the banks of the Thames. At the end of a year — on the birth of Prince Edward — Lady Margaret was released. A short time after, Lord Thomas died in the Tower, of intermittent fever.

Subsequently, the three princesses, Mary, Elizabeth, and Margaret, were domesticated together at Hunsdon. In 1541, the latter had another love-making, and with another Howard, — Lord Charles. For this, she was a second time sent to Sion Abbey, and thence to Kennington Hall, the seat of the Duke of Norfolk. In 1543, on the death of James V., her father, Earl Angus, coming back from France, went to Scotland for the purpose of securing the hand of the infant Mary for Prince Edward. In 1543, the Lady Margaret was married to Matthew Darnley Stuart, Earl of Lennox, another traitor, who received the niece of Henry VIII., and her dowry, on condition of surrendering certain towns and castles in Scotland to the English king, and promoting the alliance on which Henry had set his heart. The Earl then left his bride, in order to head a body of troops on the Border against his native land, in which occupation he passed a great many years of his dishonorable life. The first child of Lady Mar-

garet and Lennox died in infancy. In 1545, she gave birth to another son, father of the first king of England and Scotland — Henry Lord Darnley, afterwards so fatally married to Mary Queen of Scots. At Temple Newsome, in the North, the Lady Margaret had her son very carefully educated in the tenets of the Catholic Church. His tutor was John Elder, from the Highlands, a great linguist and penman, who always signed himself John Redshank — the common name for all Highlanders in the south. The Countess of Lennox — or, as it was spelled, *Levenax* — had eight children, only two of whom lived to become historical personages. She was present at court on the coronation of Queen Mary of England, and took precedence, says the French ambassador, Noailles, of the princess Elizabeth, greatly to the vexation of the latter. At the marriage of the Queen with Philip, Lady Margaret also appeared as Mary's purse-bearer. "At that part of the ceremony where the bridegroom puts money on the book of the priest, in token of endowing his bride, Philip laid three handfuls of Mexican gold, mingled with silver, on the missal; whereupon the Scottish princess swept the money into her purse with an eagerness that made Mary smile; for, in their youth, she and Lady Margaret had known together much of the trouble experienced by those whose birth and pretensions are higher than their means."

Under the tutorship of Redshank, the young Lord Darnley became a clever chirographer. Miss Strickland quotes a complacent epistle of the pedagogue concerning his pupil, as follows: —

"‘I have sent your Lordship,’ writes John Elder to Robert Stuart, Bishop of Caithness, ‘certain verses and adages written with the hand of the Lord Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, your nephew, which he wrote this time twelvemonth, I being with him then at Temple Newsome, in Yorkshire. And what praise your Lordship may think him worthy for this his towardness in writing, being yet [now] not fully nine years of age; the like [same] praise is he worthy, surely, for his towardness in the Latin tongue and the French, and in sundry other virtuous qualities, whom also God and nature hath endowed with a good wit, *genteelness*, beauty, and favor. So, if it may please God to lend him long life, he shall prove a witty, virtuous, and an active, well-learned gentleman, whose noble parents are my singular good patrons. Trusting that your good Lordship, of your accustomed humanity

and gentleness, will accept this, my simple letter, in good part, I most humbly beseech the King of kings and Lord of lords long to preserve and keep your reverend Lordship in health, wealth, and a fortunate felicity, with a merry, and many new years. ' ”
Vol. ii. p. 316.

On the death of Queen Mary, the Countess of Lennox and her husband came to court, and were politely received by Elizabeth. But the Queen regarded both with suspicion and dislike. Their son, Darnley, a Catholic, was the nearest in succession to both realms of the island, — after Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots. At this time, indeed, the Lennoxes were negotiating the reversal of the Earl's outlawry in Scotland, and seeking permission for him to go back to that country and to the enjoyment of his patrimony. But the English privy council sent orders to the Duke of Norfolk to take heed of Lennox and his wife, who resided at Settrington, in Yorkshire, and neither let them go into Scotland, nor let any Scots come over the border to them. Queen Elizabeth sat uneasily on her throne, knowing that the Stuarts and the Catholics looked on her as illegitimate, and would deprive her of the crown if they could. Settrington House was the centre of much speculation and correspondence with the French court; and the Queen and Council employed spies to go backward and forward between that place and London, and even to live in the house, and watch the words and movements of the family. William Forbes, and two young ladies who were under the protection of the Countess, were the betrayers of the household confidence; and in this way was Queen Elizabeth made aware of the projected marriage of Mary Queen of Scots (now widow of the French King) with Lord Darnley. Forbes, in a letter recently discovered at the State Paper office, says, “I know the despatch of the Lord of Gaston, (emissary of the court of France,) after the death of the last French King, with letters to France to the Queen of Scots, from my Lady Lennox, *by my Lord Darnley delivered at Orleans to the Queen*, brought answer of her hand in French.” The King of France had recently died at Orleans. Thus it is now shown, beyond a doubt, that Mary knew her tall boyish cousin, Darnley, very well, before she saw him in Scotland — knew him in the lifetime of her husband the King, dur-

ing which the lad made several secret expeditions between Settrington and the French court. Little did she dream, when she there greeted young Henry Stuart on several occasions, that she should afterwards wed him, and encourage (tacitly, we believe,) his enemies to destroy him by a terrible death. The marriage of the widow with Darnley was doubtless agreed upon while she still remained in France.

Queen Elizabeth was enraged to know that the two heirs of the throne of England had agreed to strengthen their claim by uniting it. She sent messengers to Settrington, and had the whole family taken up, and jolted off to London in caravans. They were all at once imprisoned. Lord Lennox was sent to the Tower; Lady Margaret and her little son, Lord Charles Stuart, to Sheen. Young Darnley had managed to escape, and was concealed in the metropolis. Lady Margaret kept up a correspondence with Secretary Cecil, asking to know of what she and her husband were suspected. But her letters were to little purpose, and she pleaded in vain for the release of her husband. At last, after a year's imprisonment, he was permitted to go to her, at Sheen. Soon after, they were dismissed to Settrington. In 1564, Lady Margaret obtained leave for her husband to go to Scotland, to receive his inheritance and rank. In this year, Darnley and his mother were well received at the English court. The Queen was extremely desirous to keep him away from Scotland, where that conquering beauty, Mary Stuart, now sat on the throne of her ancestors. The following little extract from Melville's *Memoirs* will show the secret feelings of Elizabeth.

"There was a grand supper at Cecil House, of which the Queen and her cousin Margaret partook. Lord Darnley bore the sword before her Majesty on all occasions of regal ceremony, such being then the office of the Prince nearest to the throne. He thus assisted at the creation of Elizabeth's favorite, Lord Robert Dudley, Sept. 29, as Earl of Leicester — a creation which ostensibly took place for the purpose of rendering him of a rank more suitable to his pretensions, as suitor to Mary, Queen of Scots. Elizabeth asked the Scotch ambassador, Melville, who was present, 'how he liked her newly-created Earl?' Melville replied, 'As he was a worthy subject, so he was happy in serving a Princess who could discern and reward good service.' 'Yet,' resumed Elizabeth, reproachfully, 'ye like better of

yonder lang lad,' pointing toward my Lord Darnley, who that day bore the sword of honor before her. 'My answer,' continues Melville, 'was, that no woman of spirit would make choice of sic a man—that was liker a woman than a man, for he was lusty [lovely], beardless, and lady-faced.' 'I had na will,' continues the deceitful diplomatist, 'that the Queen of England should think I liked Lord Darnley, or had any eye or dealing that way; albeit I had a secret charge to deal with his mother, the Lady Lennox, *to purchase leave* for him to pass to Scotland, where his father was already, that he might see the country, and convey the Earl of Lennox, his father back again into England.' " — Vol. ii. pp. 356, 357.

Lord Darnley left London in 1565, being then nineteen years old, and proceeded to Scotland. Lady Margaret kept up a correspondence with her son and husband, and with Mary. In one of her letters, she says that the Queen of England's displeasure against the approaching marriage of Darnley was "full of affectations." Every thing the Lady Margaret wrote to Scotland was carried back to Elizabeth, by means of Mary Beton, then at Holyrood. Down came the royal myrmidons again, carried Lady Margaret away from little Lord Charles, (whom Lady Knevet charitably took to her own house,) dispersed the household, and confiscated the property. Lennox and Darnley were ordered back to London; and a plot was even set on foot to arrest and give them up to the governor of Berwick. Seeing that England had long paid Lennox the wages of treason, the Queen thought she had a claim on his obedience, and a right to lay hold of him, if he should prove recusant. The Queen of Scots (now married to Darnley) and the King of France wrote letters to Elizabeth, asking the release of the Countess. Elizabeth, in return, sent Mr. Tamworth to make explanations; but Mary refused to see him, only sending him a letter for the Queen of England, in which she demanded to be declared heir to the English throne, and the Lady Margaret next heir. We may easily conceive that such a missive was not at all calculated to mollify the Tudor heart of Elizabeth. Lady Margaret continued in the Tower, in a downcast and almost destitute condition. Miss Strickland says: —

"In preparation for the cold weather, the Queen, or her Lord-

Treasurer, Winchester, vouchsafed that a few needful articles of clothing and furniture should be supplied to her unfortunate captive in the Tower. Considering the rage for rich clothing, and fur, and jewels, prevalent at that day, they seem almost humble, and acquit 'the Lady Margaret's Grace' of bestowing much expense on her own person. In the course of September, 1565, she received necessaries according to a list still extant in the State Paper office, thus headed — 'A note of such things as the Lady Margaret Lennox hath great need of in the Tower. Item, two petticoats — the one scarlet, the other of crimson silk; a gown of black velvet, furred with konnye' — being merely humble rabbit-skins, to keep her from the cold: no rich linings of ermine or miniver are enumerated. 'Item, a night-gown of satin, furred with the same. Item, a round kirtle of black velvet. A piece of Holland cloth, at 3s. 4d. the ell. Sixteen ells of Holland cloth, for kerchers and rails, at 6s. per ell,' to make handkerchiefs and chemisettes. There was a supply of three yards of another sort of Holland, perhaps cambric, to make partlets, as high as 10s. a yard. Likewise, for the wearing of the imprisoned lady, 'a French hood, a cornet or white cap, and a billiment,' which means the borders of the cap front — whether of white lace, like those worn by Mary Queen of Scots, or of gems. Twelve pair of hose or stockings, and six pair of velvet shoes, two pair of slippers, and two pair of *moyles*, or mules — being halfslippers, like the Oriental ones, with no backs to them. Bedding was among the articles of which the Lady Margaret stood in need at the Tower. There was a *verdegall*, which must be a farthingale, or rather the stiffened structure which supported that formidable circle, packed with some bedding — to wit, a rug, a quilt, and a pair of fustians [bolsters or pillows of feather-bed tickings,] and two pair of sheets. She had furniture, consisting of a dining-table, six joint stools, a green table-cover, a chair, and two little covered stools to sit on — being evidently tabourets; a side-cupboard, and a table to brush on; four table-cloths, four cupboard-cloths, and two dozen napkins; eight platters — apparently wooden ones, as pewter was always mentioned in those days with almost as much reverence as plate; eight dishes, eight saucers, four porringers, a basin, a ewer, and a great basin for the chamber. A pair of creepers, a fire-pan, and a pair of tongs, constituted the fire-place furniture — the creepers are still used in the north, as a sort of double triangle to set toast upon. There was likewise a pair of bellows and snuffers. The plate used by the second lady in the land was not remarkable for its luxury, consisting only of a salt-cellar, two silver spoons, and a cup for drinking." — Vol ii. pp. 364, 365.

In the afternoon of February 19, 1567, the unhappy Countess received in her dungeon the news of the catastrophe of the Kirk of Field, and also of the assassination of her husband; this last, however, was a false report. Medical and clerical assistance were found to be immediately necessary to the condition of the poor lady; "her anguish moved even the diplomatic heart of Cecil to pity." Miss Strickland, quoting Cecil, (who remarks that Melville, on his arrival from Scotland, could not give them more news of the bloody event than they had already known,) says, "Melville probably suspected that no one was more likely to be acquainted with the minutest particulars than Cecil." This would seem to imply an English instigation of the murder. If space permitted, it were worth while to go into the historic evidence that may be brought to bear upon this view of the subject.

A month after her son's death, Lady Lennox was liberated by Elizabeth, who, however, left her to pay her own prison charges. Lady Margaret now sojourned at Sheen, without pecuniary resources, and almost broken-hearted. When Bothwell carried off and married the Queen of Scots, Lennox left Scotland, and was permitted to join his comfortless wife in England. The wretched pair were the most vehement accusers of Mary as the murderess of their son, though it seems remarkable that it was not till she had married Bothwell that they denounced her. Under such circumstances, Queen Elizabeth's heart was softened; she sent for Lennox and his wife, and listened favorably to their lamentations. But she still held their estates. In reply to their humble petition, she would concede no more than that her agent should pay them the rents. In a little time, the consoling news came to them that their grandchild, James, was a crowned King, and that Mary had abdicated at Lochleven. The document wrung from the Queen of Scots, by the lords of the regency, was sent to London, and safely deposited in Elizabeth's *escritoire*.

When Mary had taken refuge in England, after the battle of Langside, Lady Margaret and her husband hastened to court. "The lady's face," says a contemporary, "was all swelled and stained with tears;" and she and her lord wore the deepest mourning. They knelt before the Queen, and

Lady Margaret cried so passionately for vengeance, that Elizabeth affected to soothe her with consoling words, and finished by reproving her, saying such accusations must not be made against the good name of a princess without further proof. If the saying of Louis XI. of France be true, that to know how to dissimulate is to know how to reign, Queen Elizabeth must be allowed to have filled her throne worthily. The Earl of Lennox also made an appeal for justice, before the court, demanding an investigation of the murder; whereupon, in 1569, he and his countess were, at last, allowed to go where they would; and they proceeded to Settrington.

But they were doomed to rest no more. In a little time, on the death of the Regent Murray,— who had been preparing the Protestant young James for the succession of a Protestant throne, — Lennox, with the approval of Elizabeth, went into Scotland to look after the interests of the infant King, and, if necessary, give him up into the hands of the Queen of England. It was now admitted that the boy was heir of the two thrones. Elizabeth, whose influence among the reformed lords of Scotland was all-powerful, procured the appointment of Lennox as Regent. The latter, however, did not mean to be as subservient as the Queen desired. Lady Margaret was now made first Lady at Windsor Castle, and was considered to be in high favor at court. Soon after this, she received the following letter from Mary Queen of Scots, which Miss Strickland believes to “ breathe the honest pride of conscious innocence.”

“ MADAM, — If the wrong and false reports of rebels, enemies well known for traitors to you, and alas! too much trusted of me by your advice, had not so far stirred you against my innocency, and I must say against all kindness, that you have not only, as it were, condemned me wrongfully, but so hated me, as some words and open deeds has testified to all the world, a manifest misliking in you against your own blood, I would not have omitted thus long my duty in writing to you, excusing me of these untrue reports made of me. But hoping, with God’s grace and time, to have my innocency known to you, as I trust it is already to most indifferent persons, I thought it best not to trouble you for a time, till such a matter is moved that toucheth us both, which is transporting your little son [*grandson, James VI.,*] and

my only child into this country. To the which, albeit I be never so willing, I would be glad to have your advice therein, as in all other things tending him. I have borne him, and God knows with what danger to him and me both, and of you he is descended. So I mean not to forget my duty to you in showing herein any unkindness to you, how unkindly that ever ye have dealt with me, but will love you as my aunt, and respect you as my *moder-in-law*. And if ye please to know farther of my mind, in that and all other things betwixt us, my ambassador, the Bishop of Ross, shall be ready to confer with you. And so, after my hearty commendations remitting me to my said ambassador, and your better consideration, I commit you to the protection of Almighty God, whom I pray to preserve you and my brother Charles [*Lord Charles Lennox*,] and cause you to know my part better than ye now do.

“ From Chatsworth, this x of July, 1570.

“ Your natural gude niece and loving daughter.

“ To my Ladie Lennox, my *Moder-in-law*.”

Vol. ii. pp. 380, 381.

In 1571, the Regent Lennox was shot by Captain Calder, near Stirling. After his indifferent life, nothing became him so much as the leaving it, — his great anxiety for the safety and welfare of the young king remaining to the last. Queen Elizabeth first broke this news to the Lady Margaret. Her son, Lord Charles Stuart, was the only consolation now left to the widow. She committed his education to the care of Cecil, Lord Burleigh, seeing that the boy as yet had had very little instruction. Burleigh provided him with a Protestant tutor, Lord Charles being a possible inheritor of the throne. His mother now began to speculate concerning his marriage. She asked permission of Elizabeth to go to Settrington, on pretext that some of her Scottish friends meant to steal away the young king and bring him to London. Elizabeth strongly suspected, (what seems to have been the truth,) that Lady Margaret desired to have some communication with Mary Queen of Scots, now detained at Sheffield. Before the Countess went to the north, she asked Elizabeth, in reply to some close question of the Queen, if she could be brought “ to forget the murder of her son.” To this, Elizabeth answered, that “ she were a devil if she would.” Lady Margaret and Lord Charles went to the north in 1574 ; and being invited by Lady Shrewsbury to sojourn at her house of

Rufford, thirty miles from Sheffield, the young Lord and Lady Elizabeth Cavendish (daughter of the hostess) fell mutually in love, and were married under the direction of the dowager.

When Queen Elizabeth heard of this marriage, she resolved to incarcerate all concerned in it, — after her father's manner on such vexatious occasions, and, indeed, after her own custom. She ordered Lady Lennox, her son, and his bride, back to London, and on their arrival there, they were commanded not to leave their residence. In a few days, the poor widow was taken and carried once more to the Tower. With a high-handed impartiality, Queen Elizabeth had the Countess of Shrewsbury also shut up in that regal fortress. In about a year, Lady Margaret was released, and allowed to go back to Hackney ; but it was only to see her son, Lord Charles, her last earthly comfort, dying of consumption. He soon died, leaving one daughter, — one of those "silent strings, sending no sound to posterity," of which Fuller speaks, — the shadowy Lady Arabella Stuart, of James the First's reign. Poor Lady Margaret now felt "that all was over on this side the tomb ;" and she turned her thoughts to the great change which was approaching. She had, at this time, and, it is believed, a long time previously, regarded Queen Mary as innocent of her son's murder, and entered into amicable correspondence with her, and asked her pardon for the past vehement accusations. This last fact is stated in one of Queen Mary's letters, in the Labanoff collection. In March, 1578, the Earl of Leicester came to see the Countess, at Hackney, and stayed to dinner. In a short time after his departure, she was seized with a painful illness, and after disposing of her affairs, died in two days. The Earl was strongly suspected of having poisoned her. But as there was no very powerful motive for such an act, it may safely be disbelieved. The Lady Margaret died poor, and was buried by the Queen in Henry VII.'s chapel, where James I. subsequently caused the remains of his father Darnley also to be interred.

With this biography closes the present series. The *Life of Mary Queen of Scots* is to form a separate and elaborate work, in which Miss Strickland will sustain the arguments of those who assert the innocence of Mary as regards the mur-

der of Darnley. In forming a judgment of that unfortunate princess, we should always allow for the false or prejudiced accounts put forth in Elizabeth's time to justify the long imprisonment and death of her sister queen, and for the Protestant leanings and beliefs of succeeding writers on this subject.

ART. V. — *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino, illustrating the Arms, Arts, and Literature of Italy, from 1440 to 1630.* By JAMES DENNISTOUN, of Dennistoun. London: Longmans. 1851. 3 vols. 8vo.

THESE sumptuous volumes, illustrated with engravings in the highest style of art, naturally invite comparison with Roscoe's Histories of Lorenzo de' Medici and Leo the Tenth. The object of both writers is to review the history of Italy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, that brilliant period when the arts of design attained a perfection and splendor to which the earlier and later annals of the world afford but one parallel, the age of Pericles in Greece. The political aspect of Greece and Italy at these remarkable epochs, nearly two thousand years distant from each other, was nearly the same; each was a confused aggregate of turbulent republics and petty despotisms. In neither case was the marvellous development of art attributable to peace, order, and good government. On the contrary, the imperishable monuments of painting, sculpture, and architecture were created at times and places that were racked with political crimes, intestine commotions, and constant wars. So great is the similarity in external character of the two periods, that it almost tempts one to accept the theory of De Vico, and believe that the history of the world repeats itself at regularly recurring epochs, the same human nature, operating by the same laws, constantly tending to produce the same results.

It is an enticing, but by no means an easy task, to write the history of the Augustan age of Italian art. The subject is a magnificent one, but it has the inherent defect of a want of unity both of time and place. The picture, in order to be